WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
17, route de Malagnou - GENEVA

ARCHIVES

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

April, 1953 No.7

(Note: This material is strictly confidential and is definitely not for publication)

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REPORT FROM KOREA

(from a Correspondent)

Problems of Economic Reconstruction

The Republic of Korea (R.O.K.) is being financed on a deficit budget. Inflation is tending to defeat United Nations' reconstruction objectives and, although there has subsequently been a currency revaluation, it remains to be seen whether any real stabilisation will follow.

The failure to conclude a civil affairs agreement between the U.N. Command and the R.O.K. and the consequent absence of any specified rate of exchange for Won currency and credits advanced by R.O.K. to U.N.C. has itself contributed to the crisis. The gross over-valuation of the Won on the basis of the original and, at the time, realistic conversion rate established for U.N.C. personnel has not only resulted in considerable dissatisfaction on the part of military personnel but has seriously disrupted R.O.K. economic activities and made the business of introducing hard currency for voluntary relief activities an extremely costly one. Rates of exchange for such activities vary from the official one of U.S.$1 = 6,000 Won to the approved one, subject to maxima, of U.S.$1 = 24,000 Won. The London Times quotes the black market rate at U.S.$1 = 50,000 Won.

Over and above these issues is the basic question as to whether a viable economy for South Korea can be established at all. A large number of people are frankly pessimistic and expressed the view that South Korea would become a permanent financial liability or more succinctly "an expensive American dependency". The Agent-General of the United Nation's Korean Reconstruction Agency (Mr. J. Donald Kingsley) and his associates do not accept this view. It is their opinion that, given a reconstruction programme adequate in resources and long-term in range, and provided it does not over-emphasise modern technocracy, a sound agricultural economy can be built for the country although they admit it will at best be the basis of a low standard of living.

This uncertainty about the economic future of the R.O.K. inevitably affects almost every aspect of reconstruction planning. The consequently low salaries not only preclude a national administration of permanence and integrity but render impracticable many essential projects for the training of Koreans as social workers, child care experts, etc. The meagre rewards offered for such training vitiate any ambition to acquire it abroad and take it home. The economic and political considerations which preclude the establishment of a good, and above all, a permanent civil service will, so long as they persist, seriously hamper the tempo and the quality of reconstruction.

The Christian Church in Korea

There are approximately one million Christians in Korea out of an estimated total population of some twenty millions. The Presbyterian Church, with some 700,000 members, is by far the largest, the Roman Catholic Church, the Methodist Church, the Holiness Church and the Anglican Church follow in that order of size and there are also Baptist and Seventh Day Adventist Missions.

The situation of the Church is marked by tragic division and controversy on the one hand but great piety and devotion on the other. There are some small signs of inter-confessional tensions but the main issue of controversy is within the Presbyterian Church. In part the trouble is the not unusual issue in a formerly

occupied country involving, in Korea, the question of Shrine attendance and alleged "collaboration". As one Korean churchman writes, "The long history of the Christia Church shows that after every persecution there has been a period of tension over the standing of the 'lapsed'". Another divisive factor is a question of personaliti rendered more acute by the serious loss of leadership that the Church has suffered. The main issue, however, is one of doctrinal differences which have become more acute in the last six years and in some cases are bitterly dividing the Church even at parish level. The struggle centres largely around the attitude to the Scriptures and the method of study and involves the dogma of verbal inspiration and biblical inerrancy. It is most regrettable that much fuel has been added to this fire by the activities of a group of "Fundamentalist" missionaries from outside Korea.. Men who stand on the Apostle's Creed and the Westminster Confession are branded as dangerous liberals,if not heretics.

All this, however, is only a part of the picture. One's main impression of the Church in Korea is of its great piety and devotion, its great courage and activity. The Children's Bible clubs, the early morning prayer meetings, and the crowded Sunday services are all evidences of a truly living Church. The recent development, in the armed forces of the R.O.K., of a chaplaincy service, which is doing quite remarkable work, is another notable sign of life. I am told that the greatest single increase in Christians is in the armed forces.

The most important fact to emphasise is that all activity is within a church, most of whose leaders have been murdered and whose material condition is deplorable Two hundred and sixty-seven churches have been completely destroyed. Services go on in another 706 that are euphemistically described as "half destroyed". Severance Hospital is a tragic wreck and the work of healing goes on amongst ruins where there are "more heads than beds". Educational institutions are destroyed or requisitioned and the Bible Society and the Christian Literature Society have lost their headquarters and their contents. An official church estimate on needed material reconstruction - which, of course, cannot be vouched for - was:

Churches	$62,263,631
Institutions	$ 5,873,800
TOTAL	$68,137,431

It is in this condition that the Church is living and against the background of national distress and disaster sketched above. One is proud to report that thei main preoccupations are not with what they have lost but with whom they can help and whom they can gain. It is not surprising that the sequel to this story is that Christians in Korea are fulfilling a role in the national life wholly out of proportion to their numbers.

The State of the Nation

Half the people of Korea are in need of relief. While statistics are hard to compile and unreliable at best, the current figures on which U.N. Civil Assistance Command bases its programme are:

Refugees	2,747,009
War sufferers	3,599,800
Local destitute	3,944,965
TOTAL:	10,291,774

The estimated total population of the country is 21,000,000. (N.B. By definition, refugees are persons displaced from the province in which they habitually lived. War sufferers are persons who, as a direct result of the war, have lost their means of livelihood, e.g. their breadwinner, their business or their own physical capacity. Local destitute are self-defined).

It is impossible, in any case, to illustrate the agony of Korea statistically. The local definition of destitution or need is so minimal that thousands of those excluded by it from relief are, by any western standards, paupers. A Western churchman writes, "If 45% of the population of the U.S.A. were on relief we would still be better off, for the U.S.A. has vastly more in resources and services".

This tragedy of half a nation on relief must be considered against a background of a whole nation in dire poverty. It is a nation, moreover, which has not had time or perhaps even the inclination to develop a social conscience and those consequent social services which palliate poverty.

In addition one has to qualify the phrase "on relief" as really meaning "in need of relief", for even in the case of the destitute there is a tragic gap between need and remedy. The U.N. Civil Assistance Command steps in to the breach where R.O.K. Government resources fail. UNCACK's current import of relief grain is 26,000 tons per month. This amount is intended to provide 1,500 calories per day for 2,000,000 people but it is already being shared amongst 3,500,000. While re-emphasising that European standards provide a wholly false basis of comparison, one cannot help recalling that the International Refugee Organization's nutrition standards for D.Ps in Europe varied between a minimum of 1,800 calories per day and an ultimate standard of 2,400.

The Koreans themselves ask for so little. One responsible estimate of basic food needs amounted to 225 kilos (500 pounds) of grain per annum per person. They ask for so little and they get so much less.

If it is difficult to distinguish between the destitute and the merely hungry, it is even more invidious a task to single out groups of special need among the destitute. Nevertheless, there are such groups and we must refer to them not with extra compassion but because, if they live, each of them will constitute a dangerous and intractable social problem in the chaos that is Korea. Such groups are:

1. <u>Orphans and unaccompanied children</u>

Perhaps the greatest tragedy in Korea is the disruption it has suffered in family life. The family has always been, in Asia, the cushion which, with extraordinary elasticity, has softened the blow of famine and disaster. It is possible also that the family is the best social defence against Communism. Today in Korea there are an estimated 125,000 orphans and unaccompanied children. One finds children looking for their parents but no parents searching for their children. They may perhaps dread the economic consequence of reunion. The special tragedy of these children is not merely that they are orphaned, for some of them indeed are only lost or abandoned, but that they are unabsorbable into any kind of family unit. At present only some 30,500 of these children are being cared for

in 280 orphanages . While it is wholly tragic that so large a proportion of a new generation should lack the influence of home life and be brought up in disgracefully ill-run institutions, it seems inevitable that only a substantial increase in the number of orphanages can meet this particular problem.

2 . The physically handicapped

There are some 40,000 blind persons in Korea, 30,000 deaf and dumb and a very large but unknown number of amputees. These disabilities, bad enough in any society, make life almost insupportable in Korea . There seem to be no official programmes of rehabilitation, education or vocational training for these groups and they are people in desperate need.

3. Vagrant adolescents

There are at least 15,000 adolescents - "shoe-shine boys" and near prostitute running wild in Korea. They are wholly undisciplined, untrained for any occupatio and are growing up in an anarchy which is dangerous not only for them but for the community which harbours but ignores them.

4. Children and war widows

Early marriage, the persistence of Confucian social customs precluding remarriage and the high toll of war amongst young men makes the widow and her child an ominously large and identifiable social group in Korea. There are some 294,000 widows with a total of 517,000 children in this group. They are without means of support, in most cases the children are too young for the mothers to work and there seems no prospect of sufficient family resources to make the education of the children possible.

This is a tale of human suffering that needs a whole book to itself. Yet the barest collection of facts are eloquent to the tragedy . Underlining the hunger and hopelessness is the utter destruction and devastation of a country half of which is destroyed and desolate and half of which is abominably overcrowded.

Current relief and rehabilitation in Korea

Korea is a sovereign state and not an occupied country and it follows that th main responsibility for relief and rehabilitation lies with the R.O .K . Governmen It is clear, however, that the burden of the tasks - both financial and technical will fall upon the United Nations and have indeed already done so.

At least for the time being, the United Nations has designated relief and reconstruction as the separate responsibilities of separate agencies. Relief is part of the business of fighting the war in Korea and is the appointed task of the U.N. Civil Assistance Command. UNCACK is charged with the prevention of starvatio epidemic and unrest behind the front. It is organised militarily for these basic tasks and its resources derive from financial appropriations of the U.S. Departmen of Defence. Any relief contributions from the member nations are supplementary to basic plans.

One is impressed by the concern, goodwill and devoted service of all the UNCACK officials but not so impressed by their qualifications and skill. Almost every senior officer one meets - and all of them are Americans both at headquarter and in the field - have either just arrived or are leaving next week. Good Civil Affairs officers are hard to find in any army and the rapid rotation of team

commanders and other key officers which is taking place simply deprives the operation of hardly acquired experience at the moment of its fruitfulness. The grave problems posed by the need for so many orphanages and by the homeless adolescents, to give only two examples, call for much greater training and experience in social work than is presently evident in UNCACK.

The task of long-term reconstruction, (there can scarecely be any reconstruction which is not long-term) has been assigned to the U.N.Korean Reconstruction Agency which was established by resolution of the Fifth General Assembly and is financed by the voluntary contributions of member governments. The leadership and experience of Donald Kingsley and Arthur Rucker can make of UNKRA the best enterprise of this kind we have yet seen. The Agency is still in the survey, planning and negotiating stage but its present personnel make an able and conscientious team. Given the adequate support of member governments and their acceptance of the fact that reconstruction in Korea is a ten-year task, UNKRA offers Korea real hope.

There is an Economic Co-ordination Agreement between the R.O.K. and the Commander-in-chief, United Nations' Command which, inter alia, gives the United States veto power over the expenditure of dollars put into the R.O.K., the right of participation in the co-ordination of foreign exchange and close participation in R.O.K. economic planning and in decisions on the use of R.O.K. economic resources. The agency established for carrying out this Agreement is the Combined Economic Board consisting of one representative each of the R.O.K. and the Commander in Chief, U.N. Command.

The R.O.K. Ministry of Social Welfare, which together with UNCACK is primarily concerned with the administration of relief, is faced with the problem of applying limited resources to almost limitless needs. It has, in consequence, been forced to establish priority categories for relief in the following order:

1. Aged persons, children under 13, pregnant women and handicapped persons, all within or without institutions.

2. Disaster sufferers in need of temporary emergency relief - there was a major fire in Pusan recently which rendered thousands homeless.

3. Needy refugees.

4. Needy persons eligible for military and police relief.

5. Needy war sufferers.

6. Needy local destitute, and

7. Persons needy for other reasons.

The Ministry is concerned, inter alia, with food distribution, clothing, bedding and shoe issues, provision of shelter under the "Law for Emergency Accommodation", milk feeding stations, orphan relief, and resettlement of refugees.

Unhappily, the somewhat elaborate machinery described above and the extensive paper programme of the Ministry of Social Welfare are not meeting the desperate needs of the people. Complaints about serious discrepancies between allotted rations and the amount actually received by end users are too widespread to be

groundless. Housing in many areas is a serious national danger. There are crowded caves lacking any ventilation or illumination. Worst of all, the Ministry recognises institutions whose management and conditions are appalling. Hospitals are more calculated to breed disease than to cure it, while almost all the orphanages are so insanitary and neglected and the children so obviously suffering from progressive malnutrition as to make the official recognition of these institutions inexcusable even in Korean conditions. There is a very serious danger of the exploitation of orphans and some orphanages have been opened not to care for children but to provide shelter and unusual access to rations for unscrupulous people.

There are few trained Korean social workers and there are no facilities for training in the country.

There are no minimum standards of social care and almost all the work is marred by slovenliness and filthiness which is avoidable even in the poverty of Korea.

Yet, it would be unfair to suggest that the Ministry of Social Welfare, is not trying to improve conditions. They have an almost impossible task and they lack the resources in men and material to cope with it even on a minimal basis. The one overriding quality that they all seem to have is their patience and pride in suffering. A statement by the Minister of Social Welfare perhaps most aptly illustrates this:

> "It is believed absolutely important to teach not only those needy persons but also other people to strengthen their spirit enough to stand against the hardship and to help their brethren each other, which is the way approaching to the victory. The people should be encouraged to foster their preserving spirit to ride over the hardship in livelihood through the full understanding of the nature of the war. Mutual-help spirit must be promoted. And self-supporting spirit with diligence and enduring want, without being dependent, must be emphasized."

Much of the larger part of the current programme of the voluntary societies in international relief is financed by the churches under the impetus of missions whose long-term concern for Korea prompted the first response to the country's present trage

Relief activity is currently being undertaken by, inter alia, the United Church of Canada Mission, the Australian Presbyterian Mission, the Presbyterian U.S. Mission, the American Methodist Mission, the Seventh Day Adventist Mission, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and Church World Service.

It is perhaps important to note that in each case the relief projects are separately financed and additional to the normal activities of each mission.

There is not as yet sufficient organisation and coordination of this work to enable one to evaluate it in any kind of total pattern. Neither UNCACK, UNKRA, nor the Ministry of Social Welfare had enough data to indicate what projects were being undertaken by whom and what the estimated total value was. The facts are, of course, available in various ministries but have hever been collated. It is even probable at this date that the right hand of the churches does not know what its left hand is doing.

Enquiries lead to the belief that in 1952 not less than $750,000 in cash was administered by these agencies for relief programmes. In addition to this, substantial quantities of relief supplies were imported and distributed.

One notable additional source of voluntary assistance is the U.N. troops themselves. The National Council of Churches in the USA is trustee of a fund raised by I Corps U.N. Army and, in addition, local units assume local responsibilities with their traditional goodwill. In Seoul, for example, no less than 17 orphanages out of 29 were receiving supplementary assistance from Army units. Some show obvious evidence of how much this help means - there are even toothbrushes for the children! We can be much moved by this goodwill, but it is also a cause for deep concern. Soldiers have short memories and rotated troops in any case have no machinery for maintaining sporadic charity. Many of these institutions may collapse altogether if their supporting units go home.

One judgment on voluntary relief work in Korea is its unevenness and maldistribution. The needs in Pusan are so clamant that it is a natural reaction to deal with the starving on your doorstep rather than to range further afield. If resources and enterprise suggest other areas it is to Seoul - so devastated and so near the front - that service goes. In between these two cities, however, are the forgotten provinces where so much less is being done and so much more is needed . It is wrong that in Seoul 23 out of 29 orphanages are being helped while in Chung Chong Namdo the tale is 1 out of 53. Everybody would agree on the need for more help in Pusan but the most urgent need is for help in the provinces where there is none.

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II.

NEW PRESSURES ON CHURCH AND SOCIETY IN EASTERN GERMANY

(from a Correspondent)

Those who know something of the course of events in Russia and in the other Communist lands would not be surprised at what is now taking place in East Germany. It is only surprising that the Soviets have taken so long to achieve their purposes, and that they move so slowly still. The picture of Soviet plans has become more clear in the last six months however, in every department of society. One must see Christian life and witness against the background of these plans, and their slow but sure execution.

First, and the most serious is the plan for agriculture. Ever since the war, total agricultural production in the Soviet Zone has been planned, and farmers have been forced to deliver fixed quotas of certain goods in kind, often regardless of whether the product in question was grown or raised on the farm. Early land reform broke up large estates and settled a large number of the proletariat from the cities and farm labourers on the land. These "new farmers" were a more fertile field for Communist control and conversion than the old farmers. In the course of the last 6 years state pressure has led to the forming of an ever growing number of "Production Cooperatives", which are in effect collective farms, although three degrees of private ownership are allowed within them. The state clearly aims at making East German agriculture as fully collective as possible in the future. Very little farm machinery and no spare parts can be had legally outside of the official Machine and Tractor Stations, which give preference to Production Cooperatives. Cooperatives get priority in the purchase of seed, feed, fertilizer and similar necessities. The private farmer has been forced for several years to buy in the black market, to bribe officials and evade regulations, in order to run his farm and deliver his quotas at all. Until this past summer, however, very few farmers fled the Soviet Zone. Some were jailed for failing to deliver their quotas. Others lost their land to the State. A few joined production cooperatives with their land and livestock. Most doggedly held out.

In this past year however, quotas for the so-called "large farmer", one owning more than 50 acres (20 hectares) of land, have been placed so high, that they cannot be met. At the same time the "large farmer" has been forbidden to sell his land, or to join a Production Cooperative of his own free will. He must simply work and wait until the State takes action against him - or flee to West Berlin. Over one hundred thousand have taken the latter alternative. The action of the State against the "large farmer" who does not flee may be imprisonment, or deportation to a labour camp in Germany or in the Soviet Union. It may mean merely dispossession after which the farmer may wander elsewhere and find himself a place in a Production Cooperative or state farm. This total action differs only from that against the Kulaks in Russia in 1927, in that West Berlin is a possible refuge. Otherwise it seems just as inexorable.

Second comes the plan for the gradual suffocation of private small business and commerce. Here again the pace of dispossession has been so stepped up in the past year, that most small businessmen and shopkeepers are numbering their future in months. A typical shopkeeper, a dealer in leather goods, now a refugee, reported no permission to buy materials in over a year, no materials available to buy for nearly two years, and constant inspection of the shop, its books and stocks, which one day would lead to confiscation of his shop entirely. All hotel owners and property owners on the Baltic Sea coast are being dispossessed, some imprisoned on false charges. The Soviet plan is clearly to extinguish the petit bourgeois class and to centralize retail trade in its own monopoly the Handelsorganisation (HO).

To this comes the story, now older, of the development of People's Owned Industries and of the dispossession of private industry, which has developed further and more steadily than other programmes of the state, and presents therefore less of an immediate crisis, though it should not be forgotten in the picture of total sovietization.

Thirdly, we see developing more intensely than before, an attack of the state on the Church. The first such attack - the attempt to cultivate a movement of "progressive pastors" within the Church, some of whom were even commissioned by the State to take over a reformed church leadership - failed utterly . Only 1% of the pastors of the Soviet Zone went along, and they were largely misfits in the ministry. The new attack is more thorough and more careful, and has several aspects, Its aim is eventually to bring about a state church with a new leadership, which will declare its loyalty to the Socialist state, and cooperate with it in its political purposes. It aims further to push the Church out of public life everywhere, putting it back into the realm of pure liturgy with perhaps permission for strictly "religious" instruction included. At the moment this attack takes especially the following forms:

1. Arrests and sentencing of pastors and church workers, especially those with influence among students and youth. A number of church workers and pastors have been imprisoned over the past seven years for a number of reasons or for no reason. But it has only become clear that a definite pattern lies behind the arrests in the last two months, and that the total action is in the hands of a central organ in the State Security Service (East German Gestapo) . During the past few months almost as many full-time church workers have been arrested as during the whole of the preceding seven years. It has been officially admitted that all these arrests have to do with the youth and student work of the Church (Junge Gemeinde and Studentengemeinde). The charges brought are usually general - "Incitement to boycott against the institutions of the German Democratic Republic" is the most common, or "sabotage" by which they mean not the conventional wrecking of machinery and blowing up of bridges, but statements which "bring the democratic state into disrepute". Support for these charges is usually a collection of utterances from the victim, some true, some false, collected by various informers, and various reports about his activity and attitude by those who have an interest in denouncing him. One man for instance was supposed to have said in confirmation class that neither the Russians nor the Americans, but only God could really help Germany . Other accusations were similar. The Security Police seem to be little concerned to make their case really convincing in the courts. Much time is spent bringing up false witnesses with trivial and biassed charges, very little in ferreting out violations of the currency laws, possession of forbidden literature and the like. This may show a general indifference to public opinion and to actual guilt in individual cases.

It is certain that the recent arrests are on the whole designed to intimidate the youth and student work of the church and, partly, to gain information about it. Not even half of the arrestees have been brought to trial, or have had charges posted against them. The others are presumably still under inquisition.

The total number of arrested church workers (as of this writing) on the list for intercessory prayer produced unofficially by church circles in Berlin is 52. Of these the names of Student Pastor Johannes Hamel of Halle, Pastor Erich Schumann of Zwickau, Pastor Jürgen Winterhager, and Pastor Reinhold George of Berlin, have already been mentioned in the western press. Pastor Hamel is clearly arrested because of his public, courageous, and highly successful leadership in the Studentengemeinde. Schumann had similarly great influence as an evangelist among youth in Saxony. George was youth pastor in the Marienkirche in central Berlin, but the reason for his and for Winterhager's arrest may be an attempt by the East German authorities to get information on influential members of the Church leadership.

Among the other recent arrestees are:

Pastor Werner Gestrich, Heinersdorf near Frankfurt/Oder. Sentenced to 12 years forced labour for violation of Article 6 of the constitution (incitement to boycott democratic institutions etc.)

Vicar Johannes Althausen, till recently travelling secretary of the Studentengemeinde (SCM) in East Germany. Nothing further is known.

Student Gisela Schwan, pastor's daughter, and active member of the East Berlin Humboldt University Studentengemeinde.

Oberkonsistorialrat Kurt Grünbaum, Potsdam, hitherto active in the East Zone Government's ministry for church affairs.

Deacon Herbert Dost, Leipzig, responsible for the public lecture programme of the churches in Leipzig, and for study programmes among church youth.

Catechist Dr. Kästner, Dresden - a supervisor of the teaching of religion in connection with public education.

Catechist Agnes Schmidt, retired. Member of the Advisory Council of the East Zone Studentengemeinde, and of the Church leadership of the Silesian Land Church. An active worker with young people, many of whom she has for years taken into her own home .

Farmer Wilhelm Borchart, member of the Church Leadership in the Province of Saxony. Arrested probably not because of his profession but for an act of personal witness as a Christian.

These are of course only samples of the whole list. They are not chosen becaus they are more important than the other cases, but simply because they are typical of the list as a whole. These and the other prisoners are commended to the intercession of the entire Church of Jesus Christ.

2. The second major form of attack on the Church, is pressure on the Junge Gemeind (the youth work of the Church) and the Studentengemeinde (the student churches, which have for the most part pastors from the Land churches but whose membership is ecumenical). The arrests above are a definite form of this pressure. It is clear that these two aspects of church life are only the first of a long list slated for eventual elimination. They are at the moment, however, especially important because the inner life of the one official communist youth organization, the Free German Youth is so dull and unsuccessful, and because the emphasis of the East German regime since last May, on rearmament, in a spirit of, in the words of Viceminister Walter Ulbricht "glowing hate against the imperialist enemies of the people", has found its principal opposition in circles of the Junge Gemeinde and the Studentengemeinde.

Aside from arrests, this pressure takes the form of attacks in the public press interrogation and intimidation of members of these groups in school, and the direct prohibition of meetings of church youth which take place outside of church rooms, or which exceed the limits of a worship service or Bible study group. In the public press the Junge Gemeinde has been called continuously an "illegal organization".

The Church has publicly declared that it is not an organization but simply the Church itself among youth. It has been further charged with having imperialist connections, and with carrying out espionage in the D.D.R. (German Democratic Republic - title of the East German Government) from its centre in West Berlin the Youth Office of the Eastern Division of the Evangelical Church in Germany).. The attack in the Studentengemeinde is more subtle but none the less virulent. Units of the East Zone Christian Democratic Union are often used as agents, particularly in the Humboldt University in East Berlin. The Studentengemeinde, in this propaganda, is represented as allowing itself to be misused as a refuge for reactionary students who inwardly reject the socialist development of the D.D.R. completely, and who therefore have political motives for their membership in a religious group. Bourgeois resentment supposedly determines its world view. It is supposed to be organized in a dictatorial way so that no "genuinely progressive" point of view can be successful within it. In short, according to this propaganda, the Studentengemeinde must reform itself from within, purge itself of those who are there for "other than purely religious reasons", and learn love for the brother in the Free German Youth and for the people, repent for the Church's neglect of the worker, and come to a sober constructive participation in "democratic reconstruction" . A most dramatic use of this propaganda is the case last autumn of the chairman of the Studentengemeinde in Halle, Schneppe, who was hounded out of school, and barely escaped arrest by fleeing, for declaring in private conversation that the Christian commandment to love one's neighbour included all men, even one's enemies, even General Ridgeway and Chancellor Adenauer.

Pressure in the schools has become more intense in recent months. There are a few clear cases of students being expelled from school for belonging to the Junge Gemeinde. It is feared that in the coming examinations this spring, only a small minority of open members of the Junge Gemeinde will be passed, and allowed the right to go on to university study . Entrance to the university has recently been closed to individual application. It must follow on recommendation by the principal of the secondary school. This measure seems to have been aimed at the Junge Gemeinde. Membership books in the Free German Youth have been recently called in. Before a new one is issued however, the youth or girl is interrogated, and membership in the Junge Gemeinde is one of the questions. Known members are continually picked out of classes and questioned alone by teachers appointed to the task, and threatened with expulsion from school or failure in exams. Votes are being taken in classrooms in East German universities, for and against the Studentengemeinde. The officers of every Studentengemeinde stand in acute danger. The case of Schneppe is a sign. Furthermore, almost every sizeable meeting of either Junge Gemeinde or Studentengemeinde can reckon with having a spy in its midst.

3.. The third area of attack is pressure on the Church itself, which at the moment is mainly financial. In the past few months, the Church has lost the right to collect taxes through the machinery of the state in East Berlin. This right long ago disappeared in the Eastern Zone (as distinct from the East Sector of Berlin). The state subsidies to the Church have furthermore been cut by one third. These subsidies are a centuries old arrangement of repayment for church land confiscated by the state. The right of campaigning for financial support is limited to certain occasions with official permission. To this picture of direct pressure on the Church one must add the prohibition of meetings of a general church nature. The yearly missions Conference in Halle, regular for generations, was forbidden this year. East Zone members of the Council of the Evangelical Church were forbidden passes to travel to a meeting of the Council in Munich. A general order has been issued by the East Zone government forbidding all contact between citizens of East Germany and "representatives of foreign organizations", except with special permission of the Foreign Ministry. Prime Minister Grotewohl has assured the Church

that this does not apply to ecumenical relations of the Church. But every East Zone churchman knows that this is only a temporary assurance, and that therefore ecumenical meetings in Berlin or West Germany stand under a new cloud of risk and danger.

This is the situation the Church faces. The response of Christians to it is not as planned as the attack, yet is not without its distinctive features. It can be described best perhaps as having two sides: (1) that of maintaining the unity of the Church under temptation, (2) that of bearing witness to the Gospel of Christ not just for the Church, but for all men.

(1) The state's attack on the Studentengemeinde has led the Church to take with final seriousness the activities of all of the various groups, mission, philanthropic, and otherwise, which have in the past been somewhat loosely connected with it. The state clearly attacks where it thinks the Church will be divided in defense This was the case in its refusal to recognize the Church of the Old Prussian Union, knowing that the Lutheran churches would not come to its defense. It lies behind the attack on the Studentengemeinde. Where the whole Church has stood together the state has sometimes compromised. The Missions Conference in Halle was able to hold two days of meetings because the Land Church in the person of the bishop himself took part. In another town solid action by the Church prevented the expulsion of several members of the Junge Gemeinde from school. This unity however cannot be alone the unity of the high church officials acting for the Church. The congregation itself must take action as a body, to be effective. It is further, not merely a strategic unity. One church leader has publicly maintained that the confessional point today for the Church is the communion of the Holy Spirit. This the Church may not give up under any pressure, within the Soviet Zone, or without, in the ecumenical fellowship.

This has led the Church to the position where it seeks to defend every position it now holds in the society of the East Zone - in the schools with religious instruction, in social welfare, with its many institutions for the orphan, the blind, the deaf and dumb, the sick and the old, and its general social work, in the full scope of congregational life, and even in its possession of land, and of certain rights to subsidy from the state. This is not however because the Church is reactionary, and against change. It is because the changes which are now being attempted by the state, are each aimed at the one purpose, of building up state power over the lives of citizens, at the expense of Christian influence. In intelligent, independent resistance to this kind of change, the Church renews itself within. Church lands become a burden instead of a profit to the congregation, but at the same time an opportunity - an island of freedom in a collective society - and the congregation sacrifices for the sake of this Christian service. The theological faculties at the universities are in a dangerously exposed position. It would be easier for the Church to withdraw its theological training to its own private academies and seminaries. But this the Church may not do, for the sake of the university. For as long as the theological faculty is there, a certain independence is preserved in the university, from complete triumph of Marx-Leninist ideology. And so the examples could be multiplied. To be sure, the Church is losing its position in society, and will continue to lose it just like the independent farmer, industrialist, and shopkeeper. But it is a duty of

Christian love for the neighbour, of responsible Christian witness, to fight for each position as long as possible, creating thereby, the inner strength to serve the Lord from other positions when these are gone.

This policy has led to a number of important practical actions in the last few months. When the pastor of the Moravian Brethren, Schumann, was condemned by a Saxon court, the Saxon Land Church together with the Brethren issued a statement which was subsequently read from the pulpits of 98% of the churches in that land. The declaration stated in part:

> "We declare: the utterances of which Pastor Schumann is accused, were made in the framework of the ministry of the Church to which he was commissioned and can only be properly understood in this connection. In this connection they are neither in intention nor content incitement to boycott against democratic institutions. Since the verdict maintains that Pastor Schumann is responsible only as a single person, we must maintain that he spoke as a servant of the Church from the Word of God. Therefore this verdict hits the whole Church and all who preach the Word of God under its commission."

The Church has further intervened in almost every case of recent arrest, seeking information about charges, defending the accused, and carrying on the work of those who have been arrested.

(2) However this solidarity of the Church is only one side. The Church is not, and cannot be primarily concerned with itself in this situation. Therefore the Council of the Evangelical Church has not only intervened with the East Zone government on behalf of the Junge Gemeinde and the Studentengemeinde, but also on behalf of the farmer.. Leading churchmen have made it clear to government leaders that the first concern of the Church is for the general inhumanity of which that government is guilty, aside from all differences of opinion and political philosophy - the expulsion of residents of the border areas along the Iron Curtain last summer, the persecution of the farmer, arbitrary arrests of all kinds and the propaganda of hate and fear.. It is not unfair to say that Church leaders have refused to be led into negotiation for the release of imprisoned churchmen, in return for compromise of the Church's freedom of speech in these most important matters.

Here again however, the action is not alone or primarily in the hands of church leaders. Pastors in pastoral counselling must help farmers and others who come to them in despair, and must plead their case with the government. Every case at law, involving arrested church workers and others with whom the Church is concerned, will be fought through every court and every appeal possible, with all the correctness one would show in a democratic society - not because the Church expects to win the case, but to remind the state of its proper function as upholder of the law - a reminder which gives opportunity for Christian witness every time the defendant answers in the witness box. Finally, it is this opportunity to witness to God's rule in Christ, in every kind of difficulty and against every kind of pressure, which is the opportunity and the glory of the Church in East Germany in this time of new problems and persecutions.

III.

THE CHURCH IN IRAN

(from a correspondent)

Iran is a Moslem country of about 15 million population, in which are found some 150,000 Armenians and Assyrians whose religion is Christianity. As a result of more than a century of missionary work by American Presbyterians and British Episcopalians and a few others, Protestant churches, having a total communicant membership of about 3,500 have come into being, made up of Assyrians, Armenians and converts from Islam, Judaism and Zoroastrianism. These churches and the Missions which established them are seeking to evangelize in Iran. The Gregorian (Armenian), Nestorian (Assyrian) and Roman Catholic Churches make no direct effort to convert non-Christians.

In 1939 Reza Shah was on the throne of Iran, and dominated the country. He had stripped the mullas (Moslem priests) of their power, with the result that the Moslem religion was on the decline, and nationalism seemed to be taking its place in the minds and hearts of the younger generation. Russian influence was vigorously opposed, and there was but little communism to be found. When Christian missionary work was opposed by the Government, it was done on nationalistic and not on religious grounds. The Missions had very effective medical and educational work in all parts of Iran, and the future of Christian effort seemed bright.

Then came the War. Russian and British armies occupied Iran. Reza Shah left the country, and was succeeded by his young son Mohammed Reza Shah. Later, American troops also entered Iran to convey supplies to Russia. The iron rule of Reza Shah gave place to a freedom of thought and speech which Iran had probably never seen before. Scores of newspapers came into existence, and every man began to say and do what was right in his own eyes (provided the Allied Armies did not object). All parties took advantage of this liberty. The Christians carried on active evangelistic work in all parts of the country, selling literature and holding meetings, no man preventing them. The mullas appeared once more, and began to incite the people to keep the Fast and to say the Prayers and mourn for the martyrs of Kerbala. The Communists, with the Russian Army to give them moral if not physical support, began their propaganda in earnest, especially among the workers and students. When the Allied Armies left Iran (Britain and America at the end of 1945, Russia in the spring of 1946) the Iranian Government was powerless to regain control of the situation.

Communistic influence rapidly increased, and to oppose it the Government, with the encouragement of foreign powers, tried to revive Islam. The Koran was read over the BBC as well as on the Teheran Radio, and large sums of money were given to support the mullas. The ignorant and reactionary elements of the population were stirred up by this religious propaganda, and the mullas rode back into power. The youth and many of the educated people, instead of being influenced by the religious revival to oppose communism, were so disgusted by the words and acts of the mullas that they readily entered the ranks of the communists who opposed religious superstition. The workers took part in the religious celebrations, and at the same time bowed the knee to the Northern Country which was the "friend of the working man". Many of the most intelligent and worthwhile people were bitterly opposed both to the mullas and to the communists, but they knew not what to do.

Another element in the situation is the violent anti-foreign feeling which has been engendered over the question of the oil. Missionaries, especially British have been accused of being spies and agents of their governments, and one clergyman was, for no adequate reason, ordered out of Iran. Missionaries on furlough have had great difficulty in getting visas to return to their work, and a number of evangelistic missionaries, both British and American, have been refused entrance into the country. The Moselm party and the Communist party are one in their desire to keep missionaries out of Iran.

Hence the little Christian flock in Iran finds itself under attack on two fronts. The Moslems attack it as they have always done, but for the past two years the attack has been especially severe. They say that Christians have no right to propagate their false religion in this Moslem land. The Communists also attack the Missions and the Church on the grounds that they are the agents of Western Imperialism, and that all religion is superstition.

As a result, the work of evangelism has been greatly retarded. The number of evangelistic workers is reduced . It is impossible for missionaries to make evangelistic journeys to the towns and villages as they used to do. Colporteurs find but few people who want to buy their books. Some of those who are at heart interested are afraid to show their interest in the Gospel. The number of baptisms has been very small. However, the attendance at church services in Teheran and in some other cities has been larger than before, and a number of non-Christians are always present. Men who have seen the emptiness of Islam and of Communism have come to the Church to seek a better way. When a day of greater religious freedom comes it is possible that many such people will enter the Church.

The most effective method of evangelism in Moslem lands is personal work, the quiet and friendly telling of the Good News of Christ to individuals. This has always been true in Iran, and is especially true at the present time, when everything that looks like propaganda is suspected and opposed. But when a Moslem convert gathers a few friends in his home, and reads the Bible with them, and tells them what Christ has done for him, who can stop him? Hence the most important thing in promoting evangelism at the present time is to train and inspire the church members to do this kind of work.

To this end a three-months School of Evangelism has been held for the past five summers. A nine-months course of Bible study is offered, along with church history, the religions of Iran, personal work, and practical training in all forms of evangelistic effort. To the present time twelve people have finished the course and received certificates. However, most of those who attend the school do not intend to graduate, but come for a few weeks of study and fellowship and prayer. Last summer about 50 people from all parts of Iran spent some time in the school, and returned to their churches with a stronger desire to tell the Good News, and a better knowledge of how to do it.

Our Protestant churches are not trying to take away members from the Ancient churches, though some come of their own accord. Their chief evangelistic effort is directed toward non-Christians, especially Moslems. Results have never been large or spectacular, and at present they are losing more members as a result of the anti-foreign and anti-Christian campaign than they are gaining.

IV.

CHRISTIANITY AND COMMUNISM IN JAPAN

(The following reports are excerpts from three letters from missionaries presenting different aspects of the problems confronting the Church in Japan).

1. Koreans in Japan

"....Korean missionaries in Japan have the challenge to a very practical work among the Koreans in Japan. There are at least 600,000 Koreans in Japan, the vast majority of them Communist . Very few are indoctrinated Communists, but nevertheless they are very active, especially in the waves of terrorism. A large number of the Koreans are from far South Korea but are North Korean in ideology. They came to Japan twenty and thirty years ago for slave labour or to find a way of living after being deprived of their farms under the Japanese regime. They were long oppressed and despis During the War they hid their identity as far as possible in order to save their lives. The children became quite Japanese in language and customs and few of the teen age and younger ones speak any Korean. Then came freedom and most of them did not kno how to use it. Being despised they made themselves despicable. The Japanese Communis gave them a place of complete equality with the Japanese who had looked down on them. They were welcomed into an active fellowship, on an equal basis, with a great aim in view. It is not surprising that many have eagerly accepted Communism. The Church also offered them social equality but church workers are very few and the vast majorit of Koreans are utterly unreached by the Gospel. On the island of Kyushu where there are two hundred thousand Koreans, we have four small churches, two pastors and one evangelistic elder . While Communist political violence must be dealt with, the power of Communism will not be touched until we can break the hold of Communism on the of the intellectuals who are their leaders .....

Up to the present we have found that the best way to meet the Communist challenge is through work with the children. We establish Children's Clubs or classes where we teach the Korean language, hymns, Bible verses, and tell Bible stories ..... In the Tokyo area I know of at least ten such classes and there must be many more. We cou open more if we had the workers. Some of these are held on the street and some in little rooms. Attendance varies somewhat due to pressure from communists. Fear keeps some from growing....."

2 . Building a reasonable and firm faith in Japanese Youth

".... In chapel talks and Bible teaching I seldom attack or even make a reference to Communism but I do try to visualise the forces that lure people to Communism and give the positive Christian counterpart. When I do speak of Communism, I emphasise the need for economic and political alternatives as well as religious, and stress the need for both faith and ethics and the reasons why science and techniques are inadequat to meet man's deeper needs. I have had a chance to write several articles for school papers which emphasised some of these things. My work is mainly with high school or junior high pupils so my attempt is not so much to meet controversy as to build up a reasonable and firm faith ..... "

3. Seminars on the Christian Response to Communism in Japan

"... . During the summer I participated in eight seminars of a bout 40 people each held under Kyodan auspices (Kyodan Church of Christ in Japan) with Japanese pastors in every section of Japan except the northern island . These seminars, each of which lasted two days, covered an analysis of communist theory and practice, including their tactics in Japan, a discussion of advances toward economic justice in the free countries, and the Christian response to communism in Japan. The seminars were held a few months after the treaty, at a time when the May Day violence against Americans and later outbreaks were fresh in people's minds and when the reactionary 'subversive activities control bill' was being passed . The following are some of my chief impressions of the thinking of Japanese ministers along this line:

(i) Distrust of capitalism The word 'hopeless' in reference to the present economic situation was frequently heard. There was little interest in American type reforms, TVA, etc . , the feeling being that they were not applicable here.

(ii) Fear of War. The form of social action in which the largest group of Japanese Christians are united is a campaign for peace. This involves opposition to rearmament and to the proposed changes in the constitution, which renounces military force. The concept of preventing war through a situation of strength on the part of the free world met with little understanding.

(iii) Anti-American feeling The children of American soldiers and Japanese mothers, said to number 200,000, and the widespread, open practice of prostitution, aggravate this situation. One man asked about 'American vandalism' and another asked if capitalists sent missionaries or if Christians sent them.

(iv) Hope in Communism. Ten to twenty percent probably felt that the only way out of the economic and social contradictions is through Communism. Some said the US did nothing about Japan's population problem, but Russia offered Manchuria .

(v) The necessity of Social Democracy. Probably the minimum political demand of the majority to whom we talked .

(vi) Constructive proposals. Factory evangelism; evangelism among high school students; a travelling library on social problems; more research; more conferences like this ..... after these seminars I feel more strongly than before that Communism is a false religion, to which the only true answer is faith in Christ . The Christian view of human nature is the only vantage point from which an effective criticism of communism's final daim can be made. Yet at the same time the answer to Communism is the Christian social witness, including the struggle for justice . For the Christian the two emphases are not in opposition, but are correlative....."

MARXISM AND BUDDHISM IN BURMA

(The following are excerpts from a pamphlet "The Burmese Revolution", by U Ba Swe and published by the Information Department, Union of Burma, 1952. U Ba Swe is a socialist, one of the leading political figures of Burma, and is secretary-general of the Trades Union Congress of Burma and Minister for Defence in the present Burmese Government. His statement illustrates how Marxism is redefined and applied in relation to the religious and political background of Burma)

Ideology: The Genesis of Revolution

.....the vital force that creates a revolution or establishes an era cannot be personified. Ideology alone is the genesis of revolution .....

.....what then is that ideology which should act as a guide to action in our collective efforts at staging a revolution?

Marxism: Guide to Action

.....Marxism is the guide to action in our revolutionary movement, in our establishm of a Socialist Burmese State for workers and peasants. Our revolution can only be achieved with Marxism as a guiding principle. Only Marxism can pave the way for the attainment of the goal to which we look forward. Our revolution is impossible withou Marxism as a guide. We must understand this once and for all.

But here in our country this point calls for further clarification . Our enemi the counter-revolutionary forces, are deceiving the masses and misrepresenting facts with regard to our acceptance of the Marxist ideology as a guide to action.

Besides, Marxism has been so ruthlessly mutilated by the so-called Marxists and Marxist-deviationists, who at one time belonged to our revolutionary fold but who are now suffering from an ideological dyspepsia, that one can hardly recognize it when one sees it. Because of this, even our workers entertain doubts about the ideology which should shine as a lighted torch on the way of new life on which they a to be launched. It must, however, be conceded at the very outset that if we want to achieve our revolution, if we want our socialist structure to materialise, we must accept Marxism as a guiding principle. But, for the time being, the most important problem is how to put this ideology into practice.

Marxism is not Dogmatic

Marxism is never dogmatic. It is indeed creative.

When I insist on the acceptance of Marxism as a guide to action in our revolutio ary movement, I do not mean the acceptance, in toto, of the carbon copy of the Russi or the Chinese revolutionary pattern. No doubt, as I have said, Marxism must be a guide to action in our revolutionary movement. But when it is actually put into practice, we must take our environment into account. It must be adapted to suit our own surroundings. It is not for us to do only according to what the text says, or to what a leader dictates, or to what a country is doing.

No Carbon Copy

.....There are no two countries in the world whose economic conditions, social systems, and cultural developments are identical. So one country's revolutionary movement is as different from another's as chalk from cheese. .....What Lenin and Stalin did for Russia is, indeed, an achievement for Russia. From the point of view of Russian economic conditions, Russian political system and Russian social structure, what Lenin and Stalin did for Russia is correct for Russia. But, because of this China should not apply the exact replica of the Russian revolutionary methods to her own people. They may not be correct for China. Hence Mao Tse-tung adopted a principle which is compatible with the Chinese economic, political and social conditions. The Chinese revolution which conforms to Chinese methods and Chinese principles alone succeeds.

In as much as Russian methods are not conducive to success in China, Chinese methods are out of place in Burma. Only a revolutionary movement which is entirely Burmese, conforming to Burmese methods and principles can achieve any measure of success. By this I don't mean to say that we must throw Russian or Chinese or other countries' methods to the winds. No doubt, they are worth studying. No doubt, we should take lessons from them. But in actual practice, we must apply methods and principles suitable to our own conditions.

* * * * *

We must have the courage of Conviction

If we are dubbed as "opportunists" because we do not follow the Chinese or the Russian methods to the letter, we gladly accept this handle to our name. If we are labelled as "deviationists", because we happen to achieve the Burmese revolution in a Burmese way just as Russia and China are doing it in their own way, we accept that nomenclature with satisfaction. If, because we put a certain theory into practice, not in a dogmatic way, but based on natural genius, we are named as "disloyal elements", we boldly accept that epithet. We must have that courage to face those who call us names.

....Once we declare that we have accepted Marxism, people raise their eye-brows and start wondering if we are not heretics or anti-religionists. Saboteurs exist who are purposely instilling doubts about us in the minds of the people .....

Difference between Marxists and Communists

Before saying anything about ideology, I would like you to understand that there is a sea of difference between becoming a Marxist and becoming a Communist.

Most people believe that they are the same. The acceptance of Marxism does not necessarily make one a Communist. To become a Communist, you have to observe a certain set of rules of conduct. Especially, the so-called Communists believe that to become a Communist one must unequivocally accept Soviet leadership. It is therefore imperative that one must understand beforehand that not all Marxists are of the kind that the so-called Marxists define.

Marxist Theory and Buddhist Philosophy

.....Marxist philosophy rejects the theory of creation; but it does not oppose religion. In point of fact, Marxist theory is not antagonistic to Buddhist philosophy. The two are, frankly speaking, not merely similar. In fact, they are the same in concept.

But if we want to have the two distinguished one from the other, we can safely assume that Marxist theory occupies the lower plane, while Buddhist philosophy occupies the higher.

Marxist theory deals with mundane affairs and seeks to satisfy material needs in life . Buddhist philosophy, however, deals with the solution of spiritual matters with a view to seeking spiritual satisfaction in life and liberation from this mundane world.

Both these two philosophies are correlated .....

I declare that I have implicit faith in Marxism, but at the same time I boldly assert that I am a true Buddhist. In the beginning, I was a Buddhist only by tradition. The more I study Marxism, however, the more I feel convinced in Buddhism. Thus I have become a true disciple of Lord Buddha by conviction, and my faith in Buddhism has grown all the more . I now believe that for any man who has deeply studied Buddhism and correctly perceived its tenets there should be no obstacles to becoming a Marxist .....

* * * * *

Our Programme

....We are now constructing the Burmese Socialist structure based on five fundamentals. They are:

(1) People's Democracy,
(2) People's Economy,
(3) People's Education,
(4) People's Health, and
(5) People's Social Security.

People's Democracy

Our Constitution says all powers shall be "derived from the people". Today, all administrative heads, from village headman to the President of the Union are representatives of the people duly elected by the people. But the bureaucratic machinery is still standing in the way of the people on one hand and the people's representatives on the other. Just as power is derived from the people, administration must be based on the people's mandate.

So we have enacted laws relating to democratization of our administrative machinery and have made certain amendments in detail to bring them up-to-date. But up-to-date we have not seen the materialization of this democratic system. Why? ... Village-tracts and Wards are the bases, It has already been determined that self-govern should start from villages, and step by step, to towns, townships and districts. In that way, People's democratic principles should have been infused . But our villages enjoy no peace as yet. So we cannot say that the democratic way of life has been fully realized. Some say that if we cannot begin with the villages, we should first experiment with democracy in regions where that experiment is possible. We cannot however accept this proposal . Unless we can apply correct principles to the basic stratum of society, our work will remain meaningless and unsuccessful .....

Moreover, democratization of administration should not be in one direction only. t must be developed along with Land Nationalization. Only then it will have any eaning at all. Only then will we succeed.

ight for Economic Freedom

We have laid down our programme in three stages for purposes of laying the oundation stone for People's Economy. They are -

(1) State Enterprise,
(2) Co-operative Enterprise, and
(3) Private Enterprise

As regards State Enterprise, we have already nationalized those industries hich call for immediate nationalization. Regarding such industries which require ationalization but which cannot be immediately nationalized we have adopted the rinciple of progressive nationalization. Rice and timber industry and transport ystems have been nationalized. The principle of progressive nationalization has een applied to oil and mineral industries which call for nationalization, not mmediately, but stage by stage.

There are certain industries which are not so big in magnitude as to be turned into a State enterprise, but which cannot be left as a private enterprise without being detrimental to the public interests . Such enterprises are brought within the domain of Co-operative movements....

Lastly, for economic and industrial development of the country, our own nationals are being afforded major privileges in the matter of their private enterprises.

In this way we are fighting for economic liberation by setting up People's Economy on sure foundations .....

People's Education

....What has become of our present day educational system? Up to now, it has catered only for a group of people and it was founded on colonialism.

We workers and peasants ..... cherish our own aspirations in life. For instance, we want to be engineers, doctors and school masters. But do we get the opportunity? No! Why don't we get it? Because without money we can't go to school . To get the University education, our parents must be able to support us. Then only can we become engineers and doctors....

That is the reason why we have been dissatisfied with the country's educational system since we were at school. That is why we had boycott movements in those days.

Now we are in a position to do things. We must change the educational system meant for a group of people to a system for the entire people. We must lay the foundation stone for a People's Education.

Free Education

What have we achieved now? We have introduced Free Education. On point of principle, that system of education which has to be bought has been abolished.

When I say Free Education, it does not mean only the primary, middle and high school education. It also extends to University education which produces engineers and doctors. Our sons and daughters can become engineers and doctors if they have the necessary aptitude and application. There will be no question of education being denied to our own countrymen because their parents cannot pay for it. Education will be made accessible not only here in our country, but foreign education will also be made available to the student who is above the average .....

People's Health

As in the case of education, Burma's Public Health system has been for the benefit of only a group of people: even today there are cases of deaths because people have no access to the services of a doctor.....

...This system should be radically changed . Scientific knowledge should be not for the benefit of a group of people but for the entire mass. In the same way medical knowledge should be for the common weal . Modern drugs should be made available to the mass. We shall try to achieve a state where deaths are not due to inability to pay for medical and health services.

....We have the Child and Maternity Welfare Plans .... The working of the scheme has not yet been extended to each home in each village, but so far it has started from all principal towns; and progressively the whole plan will become operative in every home in every village.

There is also another scheme for the training of Assistant Health Officers. After the training they will be sent out to every village where they have not yet been provided. In this way, we are initiating the State's health services for the villages where doctors, nurses, dispensaries and maternity wards will be made available to the villagers.

People's Social Security

The Fifth fundamental basis is People's Social Security.

What is People's Social Security? It means Security for an individual from the time of his conception to the time of his death. He is entitled to all the fundamental rights and privileges. The scheme for People's Social Security is to enable the individual to get the utmost benefit out of the enjoyment of those rights and privileges .....

....We are at present putting into effect Children's Welfare Plans which seek to protect the health and well-being of an individual from the time he is conceived to the time he is born and, in fact, to the time when he comes of age.

There is a scheme for the National Council of Union youths duly set up by an act of Parliament aimed at bringing up the youths from 6 to 18 to become true and worthy citizens of the Union of Burma.

Satisfaction of Material as well as Spiritual Needs

But then you might ask whether this satisfaction of material needs like food, clothing and living space is the be-all and end-all of life. In that respect we may differ from the views of the Communists. They may prefer to hold the view that satisfaction of material needs is the ultimate consummation of life. But I don't see it in that way.

According to Marxist theory, what I have enumerated may be able to give us the satisfaction of all material needs. But still there are spiritual needs that remain to be satisfied.

Vexed by anxieties and fears in respect of food, clothing and homes, human minds cannot dwell on old age, disease and death. But with the satisfaction of men's material needs, men can boldly face these three phenomena. Marxism cannot provide an answer for spiritual liberation. Neither can science .... Only Buddhist philosophy can. Only where there is a satisfaction of spiritual needs can we find solace in life. Only then can we find our way to the liberation from this mundane world.

It must, however, be conceded that material satisfaction of life can be attained only through Marxism.

Democracy or Dictatorship

I want to make myself clear on this point: whether we are going to build our revolutionary structure by democratic method or by dictatorial method.

Revolution is not achieved by only one way or by only one method. Stalin has repeatedly said this.

We Socialists and Marxists are not bloodthirsty. We are fighting for World Peace. If a problem can be solved by peaceful negotiation, we shall certainly solve it in a peaceful way. But if it can only be solved by force, we do not have any qualms about using it.

It still remains for us to fight for the rights and privileges conferred upon us by law. We shall still have to work for the materialization of our aims through proper planning in accordance with the laws framed for the benefit of the labourers. All capitalists, whether foreign capitalists, or capitalist-imperialists or national-capitalists, or petit bourgeois are one-sided; they only look for their own rights.

Freedom from Fear

This I can assure you, that in as much as we are able to build up this revolutionary structure which we hope for, all anxieties and fears shall be routed out. There shall be enough food, clothing and living space for every one who will also attain health and education that enable him to keep up his own dignity. We shall reach that stage when our desires are fulfilled; and when we reach that stage, there will be a satisfaction of all material needs. In other words, we would have reached that stage of heaven upon earth.

But if anybody holds that revolution involves the use of force and accordingly uses it, although a resort to peaceful settlement can achieve the desired ends, he is no more than a bigot, and such bigotry is anathema to our ideology.

I do believe that we can set up our own revolution within the ambit of democrac and suitable to our country's economic, political, social and cultural conditions. But the intensity of our revolution will of course, vary with the impact exerted by the counter-revolutionists; the more the impact, the greater the intensity. So long as we can stage this revolution within the bounds of democracy, we openly declare that we shall continue to use democratic methods.

. .. .Should someone ask you on what method you base your revolutionary movement you need not get confused as to whether you are to apply Russian or Chinese methods. Now you can look at him full in the face and say: "The Burmese Revolution is based on Burmese Methods".

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VI

THE GOALS OF THE FIFTH RUSSIAN FIVE-YEAR PLAN

(What are the economic goals of the Russian Five-Year Plan, 1951-1955, and what is the likelihood that these goals will be achieved? How does the expected industrial progress in the U.S.S.R. compare with that of western Europe during the same period? Some light is thrown upon these and related questions in the report Economic Survey of Europe since the War, published recently by the Research and Planning Division of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe. The following is a condensation of data contained in the section of the report which deals with the Soviet Union.

The Commission states that it lacks a good part of the information necessary to make an economic analysis of the Soviet Union as complete as that which it provides on other European countries).

Post-War Setting

The human and material losses of the Soviet Union during the war were enormous but, as in other countries the recovery of industrial production was rapid. Moreover the position of Russia like the rest of eastern Europe was less adversely affected than western Europe by the changes in the world economy brought about by the war and also by the post-war schism between eastern and western Europe. The economic effects of this division combined with other difficulties, have been very serious on western Europe while the effects on eastern European countries are probably less serious and are certainly less obvious (perhaps because extremely little information is published on the foreign trade of Russia and other eastern European countries).

Judged by the available data, the progress of Soviet production since the war has been very substantial and by 1950 the national income was well above its pre-war level. As a result of the speedy reconstruction of the devastated areas and the continued rapid expansion of industrial production in those regions which were not damaged in the war, heavy industry is reported to have substantially exceeded its goals under the Fourth Five-Year Plan (1946-1950) and was the major factor in bringing about the rise in national income. War losses in agriculture had been particularly heavy and the pre-war level of output was only slightly exceeded in 1950. Agriculture and light industry both failed to reach the targets set for them in the Fourth Five-Year Plan, although their recovery represented a considerable achievement. The bulk of the increase in national income over pre-war was devoted to investment and defence, while very little of it went to increase consumption. By 1950 consumption standards had returned to the pre-war level .

Although some slowing-down in the rise of Soviet industrial output is inevitable, at the end of the Fourth Five-Year Plan, the further industrialization of the Soviet Union continued at a rate surpassing that in any Western European country.

The Fifth Five-Year Plan

The Plan for the years 1951-1955, was published in August 1952 and was approved with only minor alterations, by the 19th Congress of the Communist Party in October. Thus, the plan was not made public until one-third of the period which it covers had already elapsed. (This is a reversion to the pre-war practice in contrast to the early publication of the Fourth Five-Year Plan in 1946) .

The new Plan aims at increasing national income by 60% as the result of an increase of 70% in industrial output and of 40% to 50% in agricultural output. (Percentages refer to increases over 1950 levels). It is not useful to compare the scope and structure of the new plan with that of the preceding one since the latter had as its starting point the level of production immediately after the war. The present plan is more directly comparable to the Third Five Year Plan which began in 1938, but was interrupted by the war. The Third Plan was like the present one in that defence expenditure absorbed a significant and increasing proportion of resources. Also both plans included very substantial increases in the output of heavy industry, light industry and agriculture, in that order. Both plans assumed that the bulk of increas in industrial output would come out of increases in productivity rather than increase in employment. And in the present plan great efforts are being made to increase productivity by one-half in five years. The planned extension of technical education and the general improvement in industrial organization are expected to result in the fuller utilization of existing capacity. (Since 1926 the rapid industrializatio of Russia has involved a sharp decline in agricultural population. The striking increase in industrial employment between 1926 and 1938, the period of early industrialization, brought about a fall of one-sixth in agricultural population. During the war and immediately after there seems to have been a further decline because additional manpower was channelled into heavy industry. But the current Five Year plan envisages a tendency for agricultural population to increase slightly)

Planned Increases in Industrial Output

Following are some of the noteworthy details about the increases planned for certain products:

The output of oil is to be doubled in the five-year period, with total output of 70 million tons forecast in 1955. (This optimistic forecast is made possible by continued discoveries in the Volga-Urals oilfield which produced 18 million tons in 1952 or 40% of the total Soviet output). Oil-refining capacity is to double, and the transportation of oil through pipelines will increase fivefold according to the plan. By 1955 the output of electricity is to increase by 80%. Steel production is to increase by 60% and much larger increases are forecast for aluminium, copper, lead, z and nickel. The plan does not indicate the proposed uses of the substantially expanded metal supplies: emphasis is laid on equipment for industry, but an increase of only one-fifth is planned in the output of motor vehicles and tractors.

It has been customary to publish in the Plans targets mainly for those commoditie in which striking advances were expected. It may be possible therefore that the absence of targets for certain commodities, which have figured prominently in previous plans, indicates a slowing down in the rise of their output, if not an actual decline. The commodities in this category include railway rolling stock, machine tools, electric motors, textile machinery, and agricultural machinery other than tractors.

It is planned to increase the industrial output of consumer goods by two-thirds during the five year period and targets around this level are given for a number of important commodities, but no figures are shown for silk and rayon cloth or rubber shoes, which next to cotton and woollen cloth and leather shoes are the most important products of the textile and clothing industries. The fulfillment of the plans for the consumer goods industry depends to a large extent on obtaining from agriculture sufficient quantities of foodstuffs and textile fibres for processing.

Increases in agricultural production

The increases in crop production especially grains planned by 1955 are a noteworthy feature of the new Five Year Plan. Agricultural production was about the same in 1950 as in 1937 allowing for the enlargement of territory and population, but this time far greater increases are planned. The major part of the difference lies in the more optimistic expectation of increases in yield per hectare, especially in grain.

What is the likelihood that the plans for agricultural increases will be fulfilled? An analysis of long-term changes suggests that the plans for increases in yields may be too ambitious. Indeed, in connection with grain yields the Plan raises questions which, on the basis of available information are impossible to answer. Grain is produced over a vast area, under greatly varying conditions of climate and cultivation in the different regions and it would be surprising if the national average of yields were to increase by two-fifths in the course of five years. Yields in 1950 were one-fourth to one-third higher than in Czarist Russia, and in the first two years of the present Plan the yield of grain was about the same or slightly lower than in 1950. There is no precedent in the Soviet Union (or in any other country) to suggest that yields in remaining three years of the Plan can be increased at an annual rate of 12%, despite the substantial mechanization in agriculture which has been going on and which is continuing.

What is implied in planning for such increases? Is it implied that human or animal consumption or stockpiling or export will increase by 45 to 50 million tons? Apart from a few regions, the grain consumption of the Soviet population appears to be adequate and the diet suffers not so much from a lack of calories as from excessive starch and a deficiency of livestock products. On the other hand the transport of so much grain out of the Soviet Union would be a major problem. (The size of the planned increases for Soviet grain production is best comprehended when compared with the international trade in grain. It is equivalent to about three times the volume of imports into western Europe and is more than the total volume of world trade in grain).

Defence and social services

Defence is the major competitor to capital formation for the products of heavy industry and construction work. Some estimate of their importance is shown in the fact that in 1950 Defence expenditure in the Soviet Union was already equivalent to 58% of all investment in fixed capital and by 1952 the proportion was 72%*.

At the same time the Plan indicates that the volume of investment in public utilities and social and cultural projects is expected to be one-half higher than in 1946-50, and the targets set are impressive when translated into terms of health and educational services. Significant expansions are planned in relation to the growth of population, in hospital and other medical services, and in education through raising the school leaving age. The number of doctors and teachers is planned to increase substantially. The rate of school building is to go up by 70%.

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*The ratio of defence expenditure to gross investment in fixed capital in the U.S. in 1952 was 80% to 85% and 70% in the United Kingdom, having risen from 31% and 45% respectively in 1949.

Comparison of the Economic Growth of Russia and Western Europe

(In the sense here used, Western Europe includes Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and Western Germany)

As indicated above the new crop production goals will probably not be reached, but industry is likely to exceed its target and offset the effect of any failure of agriculture on national income, though not on consumption. Assuming this is true the following observations can be made about the relative economic and industrial strength of Russia and Western Europe.

With the growth of industry, the output of certain major industrial products in the Soviet Union has by now become comparable to that in Western European countries, which together contain about the same population. The out-put of coal, electricity and steel in the Soviet Union is about one-half of that in western Europe and is increasing at a much faster rate than can be expected for western Europe, (though the figures of production are not strictly comparable). There are indications that, if present rates of expansion are maintained, by the end of this decade the production and consumption of major industrial raw materials in the Soviet Union will be equal or superior to that in the seven most industrialised countries of western Europe.

This comparison refers to major industrial raw materials in which, at the present state of its development, the position of the Soviet Union is likely to be relatively favourable. In comparison withwestern European countries, the standard of living is still on the average considerably lower and consequently a much higher proportion of personal consumption is devoted to food, and overcrowding in town dwellings is inordinately great.

The present Five-Year Plan proposes to increase real incomes by about 35% but th increases planned in per capita consumption of animal products and in urban housing standards appear to be only around 15%. Although the achievement of the latter increase would substantially improve living conditions and although rising levels of consumption in the form of social and communal services and durable consumer goods play an important role in the Soviet Union, much more striking advances would be necessary to bring the living standards of the Soviet workers up to western levels. With the allocation of resources contemplated in the present plan, the rise in consumption levels still appears modest in relation to the means of the Soviet Economy. In future years, a shift in the production pattern conferring greater benefits on the consumer should undoubtedly be possible given the continuing expansion of the Soviet industrial base.

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